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S O M E

Seasonable Thoughts,

RELATING TO

Our CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL
CONSTITUTION:

Wherein is occasionally consider'd, The

C A S E

OF THE

PROFESSORS of *POPERY*.

*Nolite igitur in conservandis bonis viris defatigari, non
Cupiditate præsertim, aut pravitate aliquâ lapsis;
sed opinione officii, stultâ fortassè, certè non improbâ.*

CICERO.

D U B L I N:

Printed in the YEAR M,DCC,LI.

Seasonable 11th August

REPLYING TO

BRITISH MUSEUM



OF CIVIL SERVICE

COMMUNICATIONS

C. A. B.

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TO attempt some Cure for wrong Judgments, (the Slavery of Mind and Body) is certainly a laudable Endeavour, however idle it may appear, or however ill it hath hitherto succeeded. The following *Thoughts* are calculated as *Preparatives*, ranged in the Order of Questions and Propositions; a Method, which, leaving the Mind *absolutely free*, throws it, of Course, into the *pleasing Necessity* of exerting its own Strength, and of encountering (as it were alone) the *Crude Distempers* of Habit and Prepossession. I thought the Publication seasonable, at this Time particularly, as it might induce some, before the *approaching Session of Parliament*, to explain the *useful Truths* here started, with the Force they merit; and as it might induce *Persons in Authority*, to digest them, for the Good of the Nation. In Truth, if *such Particulars*, with many more connected with them, be left unconsidered, or but *trivially examined*, the Remedy of our *Moral and Political Evils*, may, for the present, be despaired of; though, it must be owned, no Time, *since the Revolution*, hath been *better disposed* for receiving it.

Party, (*Ecclesiastic, as well as Civil,*) is generally the *Ignorance*, the *Madness* and the *Sorrow* of the *many* for the *Gain* of the *few*; a mighty Misfortune, and a sullen Slavery of the Mind, whose Causes (with us especially) are the Effects of other Causes, the more destructive as they lye hid from the Observations of most People, and perhaps of *many worthy Persons*, in whose Power it is, either totally to re-

move them, or, *at least*, give them a *better Ply* with
Regard to public Affairs.

The Obliquity of *inveterate Prepossessions*, in short,
forms the whole Subject of the ensuing Endeavour.
Let us struggle, to the best of our Power, with the
big, the *compound*, and the *rude Evil*; and let us en-
tertain some Hope, that the happy Period of its
Diffolution, is not so remote, as those, who have an
Interest in Error, have Reason to wish, and Craft to
suspend.



July 27, 1751.

Seasonable Thoughts, &c.

— *motos præstat componere fluctus.*

VIRG.

1. **I**N an Endeavour, which lays down Principles of the greatest Importance, it is absolutely necessary to begin with such as appear *undeniable*, and such as must render the Case of Mankind extremely deplorable, *if they be not true*.

2. There being but *few certain Truths* in this World of *limited and fallible Beings*, the Knowledge of *those Truths* ought to be *the Study*, as the Practice of them ought to be *the Business* of Mankind; since the more we walk in *the Paths of Truth*, or deviate *from them*, the more we tend towards a State of *Moral Perfection*, or *Depravation*, either as Members of Society, or as Individuals.

3. The Absence of Truth infers Error, and establishes it: Hence those grinding Measures of *political* and steady Perseverance of *Moral Evil* in the World; Deviations hitherto overturning or wasting it, with very little Appearance of Amendment or Reformation.

4. Persons interested in Error will not fail to establish it, when armed with Power. Power infers arbitrary Will; a Liberty of acting against all the salutary Truths which might detect or limit it, and hence the Inutility, and frequently the Danger, of proposing any Measures of Rectitude in *Tyrannical Countries*.

5. All wise States will set Bounds to their own Power: They will do so, when it is apparent they

make the *Public Utility* the Rule of their Ordinances ; their private Ends will yield to general Distress, and their Prejudices to Truth, *where the Truth is manifest* : This is the glorious Privilege of a *free Country*, and no Country can be *truly free* where it is not exerted.

6. *True Politics* must be grounded on the Principles of *true Religion* ; and without this Connection *Misrule and Tyranny* must, more or less, prevail in every Country, let what will be supposed in the Scheme of the Constitution.

7. The Truths of Revelation have confirmed those of Nature, and rendered every salutary Truth practicable, and even manifest to those who, in earnest, mean well for themselves and for Mankind.

8. It follows, therefore, that, of all Religions, that of *Christ JESUS alone*, is adapted to the Perfection of our Nature, since that alone presses home every Duty to the Heads and Hearts of Men, places true Happiness in a future State, alleviates the Pains of the present, and makes the *Love of God and Man* the Basis of *every other relative Duty*.

9. Every End being attainable by adequate Means ; so in Religion, the *Belief of several mysterious Articles*, and the *Practice of several mysterious Duties*, remote from the Sphere of our *Intuitive Knowledge*, is necessary to the Attainment of our true and ultimate Happiness.

10. From the foregoing Propositions, the following Quæries are deducible, and *very apposite* in this Place, as they are so worthy the Attention of the Public at all Times, and particularly *in the present*, when an amiable Spirit of Enquiry and Toleration is diffusing itself through all Ranks of People.

11. Whether the inspired Writings be *so ambiguously worded*, as to admit Misconceptions and fatal Mistakes about the *Mysteries necessary to be believed and practised* ?

12. Whether any human Decisions of the Scripture Sense should not be considered, as a Scheme of political



political Union, not a Plan of Authority, to dictate, punish and silence?

13. Whether the Mystery of the *Blessed Trinity*, in the Conception of *Atbanafius the Monk*, is to be believed under Pain of eternal Damnation?

14. Whether a *Possibility* of mistaking the *necessary Mysteries of the Christian Faith* should not humble the arbitrary Expounders, and render them diffident of *their own Interpretations*?

15. Whether such an honest Diffidence might not become fallible Men, who oft are obliged to *differ from themselves*, as well as *from one another*?

16. Whether the several contending Churches now, and at all Times, in *Christendom*, have not laboured, more to sharpen the Hearts and Swords of Mankind against one another, than to promote that *eternal Truth*, which was promulged to put an End to all Contention?

17. Whether *some* Points of Doctrine and Summaries of Faith in particular Churches owe not their Original more to *local Causes*, and an *Abhorrence of opposite Sects*, than to the *true Spirit and Meaning* of the Gospel?

18. Whether, if any *Catholic Church* doth now exist, (such as we profess in the Apostolic Creed) it may not, in a great Degree, be discovered by its Detestation of all Revenge, Rage, and unchristian Malevolence towards *all its separate Brethren*?

19. Whether the Authors of *Church Symbols*, have not been, generally, a Species of *Ecclesiastic Dictators*, like those of ancient *Rome*, who exacted Obedience to all their Acts, in the most unlimited Manner possible?

20. Whether it be any Secret in human Nature, that Societies of Men oft *detest one another*, purely for *Identity of Practices*?

21. Whether this Weakness in our Nature ought not to be guarded against, as an Evil out of which *numberless Plagues* may germinate?

22. Whether, without *Christian Forbearance* in controverted Doctrines, the *Bible* be not to *Christians*, what it is to the *Jews*, as a *Book sealed*; the Repository of their Faith, but at the same Time the Witness of their Condemnation?

23. Whether it be not odious, in the Nature of Things, to *punish your Brother*, for his *Doctrines of Christianity*, since they are his *Rules of Moral Action*, and consequently the Consideration which should *recommend him most to you*?

24. And, Whether a Man's *good Behaviour* to civil Society, doth not pronounce his *Doctrines sound*, in the *only Case* in which the *Civil Magistrate* can take Cognizance of his Faith?

25. Whether any Thing in this World hath ever prevented the Progress of *universal Benevolence* more, than the want of what is in every Man's Power, *thinking honestly and humanely*?

26. Whether *the Bulk of Mankind* think for themselves, at all, in those Matters which concern them most?

27. Whether *thinking for themselves* and for all Mankind, be not the Business of Mankind, particularly the sole Business of *us Islanders* already *somewhat emancipated* from former Prejudices, and starting into a new, learned, and industrious Nation?

28. Whether *Ireland*, of late Years (*cæteris paribus*,) yielded to any free Nation in *Europe*, in the richest Examples of true Patriotism and true Knowledge?

29. Whether stopping short in such a Progress would not betray a Sottishness inexplicable by the meanest Notion, our Enemies can form of us; and an Infatuation equal to our Infamy?

30. Whether our Parent Isle of *Britain* hath not, since the Revolution of 88, (*the Æra of Civil and Religious Liberty*,) accumulated vast Wealth, and excelled all Nations now on the Earth in all useful Arts, rational, scientific and mechanical?

31. Whe-

31. Whether *that Island* doth not lye at present under Disadvantages from which *Ireland* is thoroughly free?

32. Whether the Glory, and Greatness of *Britain*, did not proceed fundamentally from the Spirit of *free Enquiry*, and a thorough Disengagement from the Impressions of passive Infancy?

33. Take a View of all the *free Nations*, that ever figured in History, and see if any arrived to Greatness or Glory without shaking off the Preventions of inveterate Habits, both in thinking and acting.

34. It should be seriously considered, for it is true (lamentably true) in fact, that the Bulk of Mankind take their Principles from the Hearsay of Childhood; and that their Preoccupations do not deserve even the Name of Prejudice, *which infers a Sort of Judgment.*

35. That many of our mean Preoccupations, Errors, and Persecutions are owing solely to *spiritual Directors*, who derive great Wealth, great Ease and great Privileges from Doctrines as absurd in the Nature of Things, as ruinous in their Effects.

36. That the *Dictators* in Revelation have done Mankind more Mischief by Means of the Religion of *Christ*, than the *Theists*, by Means of the Religion of Nature.

37. That the fallacious Conviction extorted by the Rewards or Punishments, *annexed to this or that Mode of Worship*, is not only scandalous and criminal, with Regard to Individuals, but highly detrimental to Civil Society.

38. That such as proclaim the Love of God and Man to be the Sum of their Religion, and endeavour to their utmost, to comply with that fundamental Law, can not be *bad Subjects*, under any free and equitable Government.

39. There being an *Elect* and *Reprobate* in the Political, as well as in the Religious World; so every
Sect,

Sect, *however obnoxious*, may produce *good Subjects*: A wise Government will, *by proper Tests*, discover such useful Members, and take great Care that they be not exposed to Fury, Persecution or Thralldom, on the Score of their *Ecclesiastic Opinions*.

40. It seems, however, highly reasonable, that the *Legislators of any Church Worship*, should not admit their *Establishment*, to be * *attacked factiously* by *Dissenting Sects*, to whom a free Toleration of their own *several Systems*, is Indulgence enough, without granting them any Power of disturbing the public Peace.

41. And, Hence the Necessity of keeping Dissenters out of the Pale of public Employments, excepting only in the Case of a *few particular Persons*, endued with great Abilities, whose Restraints and Inaction, thro' *legal Incapacities*, may be vastly more detrimental to the State, than their Heterodoxy or Schism.

42. But no Law whatsoever should be enacted to hinder any well-meaning Man from serving himself, and consequently his Country *in a private Capacity*; because such a legal Exclusion is nothing better than a *mere negative Persecution*; an *unbloody Inquisition*, the *Torment*, without the *Privation of Life*, and a flat Contradiction to the Spirit of every free and equitable Government.

43. Our divine Master not only provided for our Wants *by one, holy, and uniform Rule of Duty*, but cautioned us, in an especial Manner, to be aware of *interested and rapacious Interpreters*, who (as he predicted) should, in future time, labour to torture this Law into a System of *Tyranny and Seduction*. Hence the Use, and hence the Necessity of *private Judgment*, and hence the Evidence, that any Laws to
cramp

* I say *factiously attacked*, to distinguish the Violence of *modern Enthusiasts*, from the zealous, but meek Opposition of the *first Christians*, to the Religion established by Law in their Time.

cramp *this unalterable Right*, must be more productive of *Apostacy*, than *Order*; of *Dejection and Misery*, than of *Ease and Liberty*.

44. Persecution, intolerable in its Nature, is, however, allowable in one Instance, and in that only; *where the Doctrines advanced, are undeniably subversive of the plain Principles of all Moral Rectitude, and consequently of the National Constitution.* The Teachers and Abettors of such Doctrines should surely be silenced, if not punished, until they give the surest Testimonials of their renouncing them.

45. Great Danger (the greatest Danger indeed) may arise from the Enemies of Peace professing *and detesting* the established Religion, as in the Case of the *Manicheans* of old.

46. The *Manicheans* once forced into Perjury and the Necessity of maintaining a *public*, as well as *private Religion*; all Precautions to hinder their Promotion in Church and State proved abortive: Thus their Tormentors gave the State the worst of Enemies; a *concealed one*, whom *no Law could detect, and no Religion bind.*

47. How much fairer, as well as wiser, would it have been to admit the *Manicheans*, in the Beginning, to profess their original Doctrines without Violence or Persecution? The Sect, which might dye away in one or two Ages, continued lurking in the Bosom of the Church for *seven*: Honest perhaps at first from Principle, it at last became detestable from Duplicity and Perjury; and the Poison, thus hid, operated invisibly, until, in the End, it produced *terrible Convulsions* which tore up the Entrails of several Governments in *Christendom*.

48. The Time (it is hoped) is approaching when the Force of these practical Truths, will be as sensibly felt *in this Country*, as the Operation of their *opposite Evils* is in almost *every other*.

49. From such Facts it may be fairly demanded,
Whe-

Whether penal Schemes of Comprehension are not of the Cause rather of Schism, than Uniformity?

50. Whether the Infallibility claimed by the *Romish Church*, and consequently the imposed Necessity of submitting to her doctrinal Decisions; in the last Resort of Judgment, hath not detached near *two Thirds of Christendom* from her Communion?

51. Whether any *Protestant Church* can, consistently with the fundamental Principles of the *Reformation*, dress up the Horrors of *Popery* in any new Livery of Persecution?

52. Whether any Church, at *this Day subsisting on Earth*, can be infallibly certain of its own *Orthodoxy in every Point of Doctrine*?

53. Whether the Omission of some fundamental Doctrines, and the Profession of some that are false or unnecessary, may not be the Case in every visible Church?

54. Whether, where *absolute Certainty* can not be found, nor pretended, *absolute Forbearance* be not a *Christian*, as well as *Moral Duty*?

55. Whether, if * *Albanastus* was the first who planted *Monkery* and *Ecclesiastic Tyranny in Europe*, it be not now full Time to cut off the *Roots*, as at the *Reformation* we cut off the *Branches*, of his Doctrines?

56. Whether if there be any *Herefy* in the Church, it doth not belong principally to those *Fanizaries* of Faith, who, with the *Monk Albanastus* at the Head of them, deal eternal Damnation to such *Christians* as explain the divine Text in a different Way from themselves?

57. Whether this Manner of making free with the *Bolts of the Almighty*, in a mere controversial Debate, be not a *Popish* Impiety evidently opposite to the true Principles of the *Reformation*?

58. Whe-

* See Dr. Middleton's Inquiry, &c. Introd. p. 52. Dub. Edit. 1750.

58. Whether *Variations in Religion*, may not be extremely useful to the Cause of Truth, *under the Neutrality of the Secular Arm*; since each may dissent from his Neighbour upon honest Principles, and as Truth may at last * blaze forth from the *Collision of jarring Opinions*?

59. Whether Prejudice in Favour of Ecclesiastic Falshoods, hath not influenced the Politics and perverted the Course of Justice in all Countries, not excepting the *free and wise State of Athens*, which murdered *the best* of its Subjects and the *ablest Man of the Heathen World*, for attempting to explain the Principles of *true Theology* among his Fellow-Citizens?

60. Whether *Prejudices in Favour even of Truth*, can ever be laudable, except thro' the Medium of *Forbearance* and Christian Charity?

61. Whether charging People with Doctrines *they condemn*, be not as unjust as *forcing your own upon them*?

62. Whether the *Toleration of Dissenters* since the late happy Revolution hath not shewn *the Church of England consistent with itself and with the Reformation*?

63. Whether this *Glorious Spirit of Christian Liberty*, hath not operated wonderfully in reforming the Manners and promoting the Knowledge, of all the *British Nations*, since the Accession of the *present Royal Family*?

64. Whether this Spirit hath not with equal Rapidity advanced ~~the~~ Wealth, Strength, and Industry of these happy and envied Nations?

65. Let the fatal Consequences of a different Conduct among the *unhappy Nations of the Continent* instruct and terrify us: Let it be observed how *little Doings* prove the Effect of *little Thinking* and Misery of both: How their different Weights and Measures would shame *private Life*; How perversely the most applauded

* Ut ex conflictu opinionum eruatur & elucescat veritas. AUG.

applauded of those Nations act from good, and how cruelly from bad Principles!

65. As Ireland never beheld an *abler*, nor *wiser* Body of Men, than that which composes our present Legislature, what may we not expect from them, for ourselves and our Posterity?

66. From the Laws enacted here for twenty three years past, how wonderfully has Ireland improved in Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce?

67. Free as we are from Party and Faction, what may we not hope from the Co-operation of the People in this great Work of the Improvement of Ireland?

68. A Spirit of Inquiry and true Knowledge propagated among us, free from all Bigotry or Rancour, is not the smallest Happiness we enjoy, but will render this Reign memorable in all future Ages.

69. Doth not our Compassion and yielding Temper, in the Relaxation of the Penal Laws against the Papists, shew that we know how to sever the Men from the Superstition, and detest the latter only?

70. May not this foolish Race, prove worthy of all this Compassion by pregnant Instances of Loyalty to the Government which extends it; by the Obligations of Gratitude which no Superstition can thoroughly efface in human Nature, and by Motives of Religion too, especially where their Duty leads so evidently to their Interest?

71. And, what can hinder the Papists here from proving as good Subjects under this free Government, as their Brethren in Germany, under the arbitrary Government of Brandenburg and Saxony?

72. May not the constant Rule of * Queen Elizabeth, in making the proper Distinction between Papists in Conscience and Papists in Faction, be as worthy of our Consideration, as of that wise and glorious Princess?

73. Let us try the Force of this Rule however, by the safest Experiments.

74. It

* See the *Craftsman* Vol. 7. p. and the Remarks on the History of England, by Mr. Oldcastle.

74. It may be considered, by *the Wisdom of the Nation*, that several hundred thousand Acres of Land, lye waste in *Ireland*, utterly useless to the Proprietors, extremely noxious to the Air of the Kingdom, and consequently to the Health as well as Encrease of the Inhabitants.

75. Might not an *Act of Parliament*, be safely passed to *qualify the Papists*, to purchase our waste Lands?

76. It is certain that the reclaiming our Morasses and mossy Bogs would be a vast Encrease to the Lands of this Kingdom, and consequently a proportionate Encrease to its Industry and Wealth.

77. It is equally undeniable, that most of our Popish Hands at present are chiefly employed in *wasting and impoverishing the Lands they occupy*; from a Consideration natural enough; that Improvements on short Leases hurt the Tenant, and tempt *Protestant Farmers* to take Leases in Reversion.

78. Might not the Scheme here proposed set all those hands to work, in improving instead of disfiguring our Lands?

79. It is highly probable that without such a Scheme, our large *Wastes*, will continue waste.

80. If the *Papists* converted these Wastes into profitable Land, the *Protestant Interest* would greatly encrease, instead of being diminished thereby.

81. It is fitter perhaps, that such large Wastes, should become profitable in *Popish Hands*, than in none.

82. May not the *lazy Irish*, from so much Encouragement, become a very industrious Race?

83. Will you lose such large Tracts to you and your Posterity, rather than try an Experiment, by which you *gain a great deal, and risque Nothing*?

84. Is any *remote*, or properly any imaginary Danger from our *Popish Subjects*, to be put in the Balance with the immediate Benefit of your Country?

85. It

85. It may be said *indefinitely*, that the Principles of *Papists* lead to the Subversion of our Constitution, and of civil Liberty.

86. Let us try the last Proposition by Reason and Facts.

87. Their Principles cannot lead to the Destruction of our political Constitution. 1. Because by their own Confession a better cannot be framed. 2. Because, this was formerly *their own Constitution*, when the *Popish Saxons* governed *England*, when the * *Hy-Niall Race* ruled in *Ireland*, and when the *Cortes's* prevailed in *Spain*. 3. Because all Mankind prefer their Liberties to every other human Good, if any such can subsist where Liberty doth not prevail.

88. Should *their Principles*, lead to the subversion of our *Church Establishment*, so do those of the *Presbyterians*, *Anabaptists*, *Methodists*, &c. every *dissenting Sect in the World*, would wish to see its own *Doctrines* prevail; nor is the *Desire* criminal, when confined within the Bounds *prescribed by the Gospel*.

89. What *reasonable Christian* ever desired to see his Religion established by *Wrath and sanguinary Methods*?

90. If the natural Partiality of *all* *Sectarists* to their respective Systems of Worship, be disarmed or impotent, it can never do hurt under any Establishment.

91. Though we appear cured of the Evil of Party
in

* The *Hy-Niall Race* governed *Ireland* from the Death of *Dathias* in the Year 428, to the Year 1002, when that Succession was interrupted by the Deposition of *Malachy II.* a Revolution, which hastened the Destruction of the *Irish Oeconomy*.

The *Hy-Niall Princes* were taken by the Election of the States, out of four Royal Dynasties. The *Eugenian*, *Conallian*, *Slanian* and *Colmanian*: The two first called the Northern *Hy-Nialls*, and the two others, (who resided in *Meath* their Feudatory Province) the Southern. That *Ireland* was the Sanctuary of Knowledge and true Liberty in the Times of these Princes, we are assured from all Accounts foreign and domestic.

in this Country, yet our *imaginary* Fears may have all the bad Consequences of *affected* Fears.

92. Let it be remembered, that when Party and affected Fears governed in *England*, it availed little to be of the *Church established*. The *Whigs* (as was pretended) were then overturning the Church: The *Tories* were bringing in the *Pretender and Popery*. Each Party triumphed, and each was proscribed in Turn. Thus was a great Nation bubbled; and thus was *sacred Liberty crucified between two Factions*.

93. We are doubtless grown too wise, to sacrifice any Part of the Glory, Liberty, or Wealth of our Country, to such Considerations.

94. The *present Papists of Ireland* are not to be paralleled with *those*, who formerly kept us in an almost continual State of Warfare.

95. From the Year 1533, to the full Establishment of the *Protestant Interest*, they had a great Stake to struggle for; the Religion of their Education, and the Lands of their Forefathers.

96. The *Papists* of former Times opposed the *Reformation*, and attempted to throw off our Government rather than receive it; they took up Arms for the Religion then established, and *such Struggles are natural under all the civil Constitutions under Heaven*.

97. It is one Thing to oppose a new and controverted Establishment, but quite another, to oppose an old and legal one.

98. All, who ever pretended to common Sense, cannot but own, *the Force of such a Distinction*.

99. *The present Papists*, are not so stupid, as not to see this Difference in the two Cases, and if we may take their Word, they have as little the Will, as they have the Power or Right to disturb *this old Establishment*.

100. But, be their present impotent Intentions what they will, it is certain, that a restive Servant may become a good and honest one: If you keep

him too low, he must grow *listless and dejected*, whereas a little Encouragement and wholesome Food, will render him *vigilant and active in your Service*.

101. It is inconceivable what good Effect a little *Kindness*, will have on Societies of Men who long have groaned under the *Pressures of Power*.

102. A Person sentenced to die, fancies himself happy, when he is put under a Rule of Transportation.

103. If the *Papists* cannot *disturb* the State, let us enable them to the best of our Power, to *serve it*.

104. If we have any Parties to contend with, they are beyond my Knowledge: It is certain, *the Papists are not of the Number*.

105. Their Superstition is *their own*, but their Improvements and Industry *ours*.

106. Their Idleness and self-interested Neglects of building, improving, or planting, may be said to be *ours* also.

107. Remove the Cause, and you remove the Effect.

108. Are there no *Halcyon Days* for this Country, until all its Inhabitants profess *the Religion of the civil Magistrate*?

109. If the Proportion of *Protestant and Papist* in the Kingdom of *Scotland*, was as two hundred to one (*according to Sir William Temple's Computation*) in even *Charles the Second's* Reign, may it not be said that *Scotland* was then in the Situation, that we so earnestly wish *Ireland* to be in at present.

110. And what has *that ill-fated Country* gained by this *Eradication of Popery*?

111. How oft, how cruelly, and how justly hath it suffered by its own Factions and Rebellions within the Compass of the last forty Years?

112. May not dangerous Factions spring up in *Ireland*, when *Popery* now expiring, is *laid fairly in its Grave*?

113. May

113. May it not be averred, that *L——*s was a greater Enemy in our Bosom, than *all the Papists put together* ?

114. Hath England aught to fear from this *Ghost of Popery* ?

115. If the Constitution of these Countries should ever be openly attacked, or secretly undermined, from *what Quarter* is the Danger most likely to come ?

116. Is it wise to turn our Eyes from the Prospect of any real Dangers, and fix them on such as are imaginary and impossible ?

117. Hath not the *Romish States themselves*, tolerated the furious and contending Sects of *Dominicans and Jesuits* without much Apprehension ; I am sure, without laying any legal Restraints, or inflicting any legal Punishments on either ?

118. Hath not the Introduction of Learning and Arts into the *Popish Countries* forced *Popery itself* to relent, and greatly moderate the Cruelties of the Inquisition.

119. Who *believes*, or *thinks at his Peril*, in the free *Popish Cantons of Switzerland* ?

120. May not a *negative Inquisition*, bear all the Fruits of a *Ritual one* ?

121. If Popery be so little to be dreaded in *Ireland*, we should not furnish *France*, our natural Enemy with the least Means of supplying herself with *bewers of Wood and drawers of Water*, out of this Country, vastly too thin of Inhabitants, even at this Time.

122. It is well known that the *Court of France* drew up an Act for naturalizing all *Irish Papists*, and that this Act hath been lately registered in *their Parliament of Paris*.

123. It would be an indelible Shame, and at present an irreparable Loss to us, to let *France* recruit the late Waste of its Subjects, *at our Expence*.

124. The Increase of Subjects to that Country may prove less alarming, but in many Respects more dangerous to the World, than an Encrease of its Dominions.

125. It is not perhaps prudent, nor politic to give any part of our People a *thorough Dislike* to the *Land of their Birth*.

126. When they consider themselves as *Aliens* and *Exiles*, Numbers, like Birds of Passage, will prepare for their Flight into more *commodious and habitable Regions*.

127. Should they mend their Condition by *Emigration*, the Cowards they left at home, will then follow.

128. If you allow them to purchase your useless Lands, or take long Leases of them, you will encourage them to employ their Hands at Home, and this Country will thereby in some Years hence, exhibit *as fine a Face as any at this Day in Europe*.

129. What has made delightful Meadows of the Marshes in the *United Provinces*?

130. It is possible you may punish these People for mere *problematical Evil* and which they *could not* commit, if *they would*.

131. It is likewise possible, that you have taken the Tenets of their Religion, from *prejudiced Persons* of *your own Religion*, or from *Enthusiasts of theirs*.

132. It is indisputably possible, that there may be *Protestants* Bigots as well as *Papists*; able, self-interested, and learned Craftsmen of all Parties, who foment our religious Wars, *to run away with the Plunder*, and who in all Ages have done more Mischief to the World *than all the standing Armies in it*.

133. If Men too fatally for themselves, (too cruelly for their Fellow Creatures,) had not fortishly precluded themselves from a fair Examination of *their own and others Principles*, they would not at this
Day

Day have *Religion enough to hate, but not enough to love one another.*

134. A few * *Berkleys* in each Communion, would soon restore to us that Spirit of Christianity, which *one alone* hath laboured so apostolically to revive.

135. *Brandenburg, Upper Saxony and the Electorate of Hanover*, may convince us, *that Papists may prove good Subjects in a protestant Country.*

136. Our own Country (after the Determination of the Disputes about Property and Power) has afforded Examples of this.

137. *The Testimony of Facts is the most stubborn Evidence in the World.*

138. It has ever been the Policy of all wise States, to set all their useless Hands a going, and encourage them to go on.

139. If we should embarrass ours, *we may take from the Public, what we give to Prejudice.*

140. It is not Wisdom to risque a real present Benefit, for prevention of a future improbable Evil.

141. You will with infinitely more Ease, make *Converts to the Constitution of the State*, than of *that of the Church.*

142. If you make them *Converts to the Government*, they will not lightly risque it ; or their own Safety, for the Superiority or Pageantry of any Ecclesiastical Power.

143. The Priesthood (*especially that of Rome*) may well subsist without temporal Power, about which the Gospel is wholly silent, except in the Case of *forbidding it.*

144. It is no wild Supposition, that many *Converts to our Religion*, and many more on whom Religion of any Kind, operates but little, or not at all, may in some future Time prove the greatest Enemies

* See the present Bishop of Cloyne's two Addresses to the R. Catholics of *Ireland.*

mies to our Government, and that our chief domestic Danger must flow from that Quarter, or from none.

145. The Relaxation of the *Penal Laws* hath been on sundry Occasions, very gratefully and we may believe, very sincerely acknowledged by the *Papists of Ireland*.

146. May not a Repeal of some Laws which bear hard on *their Land Industry* and consequently upon *our own*, convert Gratitude into *Affection and Attachment*?

147. Give them your waste Lands to enjoy and cultivate and *take their Arts, Manufactures, Improvements, and themselves in Lieu*. Thus do you gain a great deal and lose nothing.

148. Such a Property in *Popish Hands* with a legal Security for its perpetuity, will *enrich, enlarge, and adorn your Country*.

149. In sound Policy you should secure yourselves of the Attachment of this People, *by some permanent Property*.

150. Some permanent Property in *Popish Hands*, is safer than an *indefinite, invisible, and portable Property*.

151. If you have no Security of them but their Money and their Arts of acquiring it, they may in a few Years (by seasonable Temptations from abroad) steal both away from you.

152. It should be considered, whether any Decay of our Manufactures (*now in their Infancy*) together with any considerable Drain of our Species, might not produce a *Waste insupportable to this Nation*.

153. Whether the Naturalization Act of the *French*, be not a Snare laid by that *crafty Nation*, to drain us of our *Species, our Manufactures, our Merchants, our Seamen, and our labouring Subjects*.

154. Whether our *Popish Subjects*, can be in the thousandth Degree, so hurtful to us in *Ireland*, as in *France*?

155. Whether

155. Whether our *Popish Subjects*, can in any Respect hurt us at home, unless it be by the *Incapacities and Discouragements we lay them under?*

156. Whether any great Improvement of the *Linen Manufactures of France*, would not prove very ruinous to those of *Ireland?*

157. Whether your allowing our popish Subjects some permanent Property in your useless Wastes, would not prevent the *French* from underselling us in any Branch of that Industry?

158. Whether the *Papists* of the southern Provinces of *Ireland*, have not within the Compass of these last twenty Years, made a considerable Progress in our Linen Manufactures?

159. Whether their considerable Progress in that inexhaustible Source of Wealth, (if well managed) may not in a few Years become a rapid one?

160. Whether a Spinning Wheel in the Province of *Connaught*, where the Momentum of this Manufacture is least felt, will not earn ten Pounds *per Annum*, in the Hands of an *Irish Wench?*

161. Whether four Pounds of that Sum be not an annual Addition to our Stock, and preferable to the Importation of so much Bullion?

162. Whether the Inhabitants of *Connaught* do not at present employ *ten Hands* in the Linen Manufacture, to *one* they employed in the Year 1735?

163. Whether the *Turks* bearded and threatened by the Vicinity of so many mighty *Christian Monarchies*, do not however without the least Apprehension allow a landed and permanent Property to their *Christian Subjects* both in the *Levant* and in *Asia?*

164. Whether the *Christians* be not vastly more numerous in the *Levant* than the *Papists* are in *Ireland?*

165. Whether

165. Whether the *Greeks* of the *Morea* are not far easier at present under the *Turkish* Yoke, than under their late *Christian Masters* the *Venetians* ?

166 Whether when two Hounds are in a Leash, the stronger will not *at all Times*, run away with the Weaker ?

167. Can it be affirmed that a weak Body of *Po-pish Inhabitants* in this Country, is to be dreaded more by the powerful Nations of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, than the *Christians* of the *Levant* and the *lesser Asia* by the *Turk* ?

168. Whether the *Turks* by desisting from Persecution, have not rejected a positive Law of their own *Koran* ?

169. Whether *Christians* by adopting the Law of the *Koran*, have not in that Particular renounced the *Bible* which forbids Persecution ?

170. Whether the *French* are not at this Day persecuting *Christians* for Righteousness Sake ?

171 Whether the *French* have ever afforded their *Protestant Subjects* any other Beatitude ?

172. Whether in *France* common Equity, common Humanity, the public Good, and the *Gospel*, be not sacrificed to the ill grounded Hatred of their separate Brethren ?

173. Whether there be not somewhat in the Genius of the *British Nations* averse from *Persecution* and *Spiritual Tyranny* ?

174. Whether all the Reasoning in the World, from the *Laws of Nature* or the *Gospel*, can have the least Effect against popular Error, nursed in Bigotry, matured in Malevolence, and even blind to all the Dictates of Self-Interest ?

175. Whether in every Country where Persecution prevails, the Governors do not mistake the *Public Good*, for their own capricious *Pre-occupations* ?

176. Whether Persecution in a Land of Liberty can be of long Duration, especially when a Spirit of free

free Inquiry, a rational, humane and disengaged Turn of Thinking pervades the Mind, becomes a *second Nature to Individuals, and to the aggregate Whole, a public Duty?*

177. What Denominations of Men can be more firmly attached to the present Constitution, than the *Protestant Dissenters of Great Britain and Ireland?*

178. Whilst the Resentment of former Injuries (like the Swell of the Ocean after a Storm) operated formerly as strongly upon Parties, as the Sense of the Injuries themselves; how passionately and how unreasonably have the *Protestant Dissenters been abused?*

179. Hath not Party (even Ecclesiastic Party) in this Case relented; and is it not natural that all Resentments (clerical as well as political) must some Time or other be buried with the Causes which occasioned them?

180. If *Protestants* of all Denominations be in the happy Temper here set forth; may it not be expected that the *Protestant Dissenters* will soon receive the full Reward of their Loyalty, Services, and Sufferings?

181. May not our *Popish Dissenters*, with far inferior Privileges, be rendered far more attached to this Constitution, than to a *French Government without it?*

182. Were not the *Papists* possessed of great Property, and very great Privileges in the Reign of *our late Immortal Deliverer K. William III.*?

183. Were not all those *Papists* in Arms against that *Glorious Monarch*, and obstinate to all Terms of Submission, until reduced to the last Extremity by his victorious Arms?

184. Providing early for *their Reduction*, hath not *K. William* provided with equal Magnanimity for *their Safety?*

185. If you be at Ease when your Danger is greatest, *when a new Revolution takes Place, when the Flames of recent Contentions are still alive, when many are ruined, many more fierce and desperate* : If I say, you can be secure under *all these Circumstances*, may you not be entirely so, *when all those Circumstances are removed* ?

186. If *K. William* saved the offending Fathers, shall we punish the *innocent Children* ?

187. In what Instances did the *Papists* provoke the penal and incapacitating Laws against them, since the *Death of our Glorious Deliverer* ?

188. May it not be truly said, that the Gavel Act of 1703, for hindering the Growth of *Popery*, is now virtually expired, having *no Materials to operate upon* ?

189. Whether the *Papists* be not at present (stripped as they are of all landed Property) less connected with us than ever, and consequently more than ever at Liberty (if properly encouraged from abroad) to take *Wing* ?

190. And whether *their Flight at this Time*, would not prove of ruinous Consequence to this improving Nation ?

191. What is their *Idolatrous Worship* to us, if their *Political Morals*, like those of their Brethren in *Brandenburg, Saxony and Hanover* be sound ?

192. Take away *Property* from the Professors of this or that *Gospel System*, take away *Liberty* from all who will not receive *your own particular Scheme* of Christianity.—What is the Consequence?—

193. *The Growth of your Wealth and Strength*, is a Matter of far greater Consideration to you than the *Growth or Extinction of Popery* ?

194. Notwithstanding what is here humbly proposed, I think no *Papist* ought to be relieved from the legal Restraints and Incapacities now in force,
who

who should refuse the following (or some such) Test of his Fidelity.

“ I *A. B.* swear, &c. that I shall be a true and
 “ loyal Subject to his Sacred Majesty K. *George*,
 “ and shall maintain the Settlement of the Crown
 “ *as now established by Law*; that I will to the best of
 “ my Power uphold and support the present Consti-
 “ tution, which in my Conscience I think the best
 “ and wisest that ever was or ever can be framed;
 “ that I shall enter into no Conspiracy directly or
 “ indirectly to overturn the same, but I shall to my
 “ utmost oppose and detect all Plots against it, &c.”

195. Let our *Laws, the Laws of Freemen and Protestants*, protect and reward all Denominations of Men, who think and labour for the Public; and let those Laws be a Terror, *only to Evil-Doers*.

196. Whilst Constitution, Climate, Caprice and Ignorance take so great a Share in forming the different Modes of Religion in this World, and whilst Pride prolongs what Ignorance and Vice may beget, let us exert the Humiliation which so great a Variety of Religions should inspire; and let us consider that the Divine Providence (*whose Work is never at a Stand*) has permitted all this, for our Humiliation as well as Punishment; Let us not vainly nor impiously flatter ourselves that we (weak Mortals) can at our good Will and Pleasure *obstruct* (however we may labour to frustrate) *its Dispensations!*

197. Let us therefore (*in God's Name*) take this World on the Terms it is granted to us; *with all its Faults*, and *with all its Follies*: Let us attempt to reform *the one* and remove *the other*, to the utmost of our limited Power, but *ever consistently with the Laws of Nature and the Gospel*. There our Duty begins and ends.

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